



# THE AMERICAN

*See* A NATIONAL JOURNAL *Table & Contents missing*

VOL. XXIX—No. 725

PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1898

PRICE FIVE CENTS

## THE AMERICAN.

A NATIONAL JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY ON EACH SATURDAY.

[Entered at the Post Office at Philadelphia as matter of the second class.]

BARKER PUBLISHING COMPANY, PROPRIETORS.  
WHARTON BARKER, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.  
BUSINESS AND EDITORIAL OFFICES,  
Rooms 24 and 26  
Forrest Building, No. 119 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia.

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\*Address through Post Office: THE AMERICAN, Box 1202, Philadelphia.

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### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.  
Free Coinage of Gold and Silver.  
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.  
Opposition to Trusts.  
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.  
Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.

### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

THERE is every evidence that the American people are, at present, quite well satisfied with the conduct of the war. Progress is being made towards the reduction of the Spanish power, or is on the point of being made, of a kind that is apparent, that appeals to our militant senses, excites lively interest and imagination and so there is general satisfaction.

Material progress is being made in two ways towards bringing Spain to that state of helplessness when she will be disposed to

give up the struggle and accept the inevitable. First our army is getting into position to strike appreciable and crushing blows at her Cuban garrisons and wrest from her her West Indian colonies, as Dewey and the Phillipine insurgents are wresting from her the hold over her colonies in East Indian waters and, second, she is being worn out to the point of inability to persist in the struggle through the mere prolongation of the war and the heaping up of expenses. In short, aside from any reverses she may meet in the field or on the seas, she is being reduced to impotency through very inability to stand the drain of war.

WE HEARD at one time of Spain purposing to prolong the war with a view to wearying us into an abandonment of the struggle. But to so prolong the war she is utterly unable; she has shown that she has not the resources; it has been shown that the war exhausts her, not us; that just as the war is prolonged, and aside from any military reverses, she grows relatively weaker. So, too, we heard at one time of her purpose to abandon her colonies and content herself with a guerilla warfare on the seas, hoping to drive us to soften our demands and grant her easier terms by persistent preying upon our commerce. But in these days of coal and steam and neutrality laws the privateer has little chance of a successful venture, for without coal he can not move, and coal to enable him to cruise at sea in search of prizes he can not get at neutral ports.

Besides, privateering is much tabooed by the maritime nations. And so Spain has not resorted to privateering, and for the best of reasons. First, because the business, offering little prospect of profit and nothing at all adequate to the risk, would attract few ship owners or none; second, because the maritime nations, and several of which are her friends, frown upon the mere suggestion.

ALTOGETHER, as the war has drawn out Spain has found herself growing poorer and poorer, less and less capable of carrying on the struggle. So it is that progress and very material progress is being made in the direction of bringing Spain to terms entirely aside from the overt acts and successes of our fleets and armies. There is no denying the fact that by the mere prolongation of the war Spain is being worn out and that this of itself must do much to dispose her towards peace. It is true that there is nothing spectacular about the progress that is being made in this way, that it attracts little attention, but the progress is making none the less. It is the progress made towards peace through open strife and the rendering of crushing blows that draws, indeed monopolizes attention.

When progress of this latter kind is making, or there is confidence in its early making, there is satisfaction, when it is not making there is restlessness. And now there is progress making in the military line, and promise of the making of rapid progress and so at present there is general satisfaction with the conduct of the war. A few weeks ago this satisfaction was wanting, for military progress of the kind that makes itself seen was wanting. Progress there was, progress in getting an effective army together,



progress made in the making of the preparations that now make possible what we choose to look upon, and alone look upon as military progress. The results we see, the preparations we do not and we are prone to forget that great preparations and great progress in their making must be made before the final steps of military progress, which we give ourselves over to heralding, can be so much as undertaken.

WHEN we declared war against Spain two months ago we had no army. In two months an effective army has been created. For two months land forces of the United States did nothing for the simple reason that we had none that were prepared for a campaign. Before the army could act it had to be created. During the process of creation it was very apparent that there was much dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war. The same people who are now quite satisfied were then dissatisfied, for they took not note of the progress making in the preparations in the camp which now make possible the progress in the field with which they are now so well satisfied.

But though it is true that war found us without an army and without the arms and munitions and equipment to put an army in the field and that within two months we have created an effective army, it may be true, and no doubt is true, that the preparations would have been earlier completed and the volunteer army sooner ready if more officers, especially in the quartermaster's department, had been appointed for their experience and fitness and fewer because of their political pull and without regard to their capability. If fitness had been the key to appointments rather than money or political influence it is certain that dishonest contractors would have had less opportunity to enrich themselves at their country's expense, it is probable that more care would have been taken to see that contracts were let out to only those who were known to be efficient and reliable, and as a consequence there would have been less delay from the tardiness of contractors.

YET it is true that in two months an effective army of probably more than 200,000 men has been created out of the nucleus of the state militia, that this army is now ready to drive the Spanish out of Cuba and Puerto Rico. And thereby have our foreign critics been disarmed, their words disproven scarce they left their lips. Thus did we have high German military authorities asserting with all confidence that our army would not be in condition to invade Cuba before fall, that it could not be whipped into shape to meet with success the Spanish troops in any time short of that. But scarce had such opinions found publication than an army largely composed of regular troops, but also comprising several volunteer regiments, was landed on the Cuban coast in a space of time so short that our critics fairly marvel. And in the footsteps of this army follows another army of volunteers while in the first action of our troops regulars and volunteers alike carried themselves as veterans, bore up as Americans expected them to do.

SO WE see that the want of an army ready to take the field when war broke out has delayed the commencement of military operations by scarce two months. Yet this is used as an argument in support of the proposition that we should keep up a large military establishment in time of peace, a proposition that will doubtless be pressed upon us with the ending of the war. It is doubtless true that if we had had a trained and fully equipped army of 200,000 men when the war broke out, we could have put an army of invasion in Cuba almost two months ahead of the actual time of invasion and could ere this, in all probability, have stamped out the Spanish power in Cuba. But what would it mean to have such army ready? It would mean that we would have to keep a standing army of 200,000 men, for

we know not when trouble will come. It would mean that we would have to keep 200,000 men in idleness at all times, that the industrious would have to be taxed for the support of this army that would render no service in time of peace, but would contain seeds of danger to free government.

It may indeed be said that even in peace such army would render a service as its very existence would save us from aggressions. But there is no reason to fear aggressions on the part of any foreign power in the absence of such an army that would not be equally made if we had such army. The absence of such an army does not invite aggression, for no nation would be so foolhardy as to seek to despoil the United States in the belief that it could do so and escape unscathed. All nations know that they could not; from the wanton aggressions of the strong upon the weak we are free. The absence of such an army would then invite no aggressions, no more than has its absence in the past, nor would the existence of such army be sufficient to divert any nation or nations from attacking us if they deemed they had cause such as would lead them to attack us if we had not.

AND now let us see what having an army of 200,000 men ready to throw into Cuba at the outbreak of the present war would have meant. We have shown what we would have gained; at most hastened the commencement of the work of expelling the Spanish from Cuba by two months. And to have had such an army, had such an army ready at all times since our last war, and this is what having an army ready to move instant at the outbreak of war would mean—for the only way to be sure to have an army ready at some uncertain time is to have it always ready—would have meant the keeping of a standing army of 200,000 men for say thirty years. And this would have meant the keeping of 200,000 men out of productive work for thirty years, meant that 200,000 men, each producing wealth on an average to the value of \$500 a year would have been kept out of work, meant that each year of the thirty the wealth production in the United States would have been reduced by \$100,000,000 or three billions of dollars for the thirty years, meant that the aggregate wealth of the United States would be to-day three billion dollars less than it is, that we would have entered the war with Spain with an army of 200,000 men ready for service yes, but with three billion less of resources than we had.

And now, candidly: Would we have been in better position to fight Spain if we had kept a standing army of 200,000 men? We would have been weaker in the fight because of the existence of that army not stronger. There can be no other answer given unless one is prepared to say that it would have been worth \$3,000,000,000 to us to have invaded Cuba and entered on the work of expelling the Spanish two months earlier than we did. The two months delay and the making of the preparations that would have been already made if we had had a standing army will not come to one-tenth of such sum. So much for the economic side.

But it is said that the delay will cost lives. But the keeping of a standing army of 200,000 men for a generation would have meant the wasting of 200,000 lives. Indeed, it would have been worse for it would have meant the wasting of the best years of the lives of many more than 200,000 men. When a man is taken into a standing army he is buried to the world during the term of enlistment. Indeed he is worse than buried for during the term of his enternment the world must pay for his keep. In short, we could better afford the sacrifice of 200,000 men at the outbreak of a European war and because of the want of a standing army than we could keep a standing army of like numbers, which keeping would amount to nothing less than the constant imprisonment of never less than 200,000 men.

So we enter our protest at once against the enlargement of our military establishment, the creation of a standing army on



the return of peace. For such army there is no defense. The creation and maintenance of a standing army would serve to weaken not strengthen us, to lessen not increase our ability to carry on a European war.

ONE of the reasons to look for an early peace and indeed the chief reason is the evident exhaustion of the Spanish people. And that which should constrain Spanish statesmen to seek peace at once is the undeniable fact that though Spain is being rapidly exhausted, the United States is not. Consequently the struggle becomes more and more unequal, the position of Spain more and more hopeless and the longer she hesitates in coming to terms the harder will those terms become. The war has greatly disturbed Spanish trade but in the United States trade has gone on undisturbed; Spain is rapidly approaching the point where she will be without resources, the United States has resources at command that are practically limitless.

As to Spain, her trade has been greatly disturbed because her colonial trade, which was her chief foreign trade, has come to an absolute end with the war, while at the same time the chief outside markets for the products of her factories, markets of the colonies secured to Spanish manufacturers in the past by preferential tariffs, have been cut off. The result is that the commercial and manufacturing classes of Spain are suffering from great curtailment of business, and on top of this they are called upon to pay heavy war taxes. Thus on one side they are being driven to ruin by curtailed business, owing to the loss of the markets of her colonies, markets that she cannot hope to get back with peace, for with the acknowledgment of the independence of or cession of her colonies will end the tariffs imposed with the purpose of giving Spanish goods and goods shipped through Spain a preference over all others. And, on the other hand, they are being oppressed by high taxes.

Out of smaller incomes they are called upon to pay larger taxes, and under this pressure from top and pressure from bottom they are being crushed. So it is that they petition the Spanish Government for peace.

3 WHILE the people of Spain are thus being worn out the people of the United States suffer from little exhaustion although the financing of the war, the raising of war funds, is being conducted in a way well suited to bring curtailment of enterprise and force exhaustion, namely, by the sale of bonds and the taking of money out of circulation at the very time that the demands for money are being increased by the war and such increased demands should be provided for by increasing the issues of currency. Fortunately for the people of the United States the trade balances have been so much in our favor as to enable us to keep the product of our own gold mines and within four months draw as much as \$100,000,000 worth of gold from Europe and Australia. As a result the increased demands for money caused by the war have largely been met and a serious fall in prices prevented.

Yet, as the *Philadelphia Press* says, the offer of the government loan for popular subscription "diverts money that would have gone to productive enterprise, retards industrial expansion and is practically a blanket mortgage on industry." And the *Press* is quite right. Though Mr. Gage has made the effort to prevent the gathering up of the money of the country in the Treasury through the sale of bonds, he has failed to prevent an injurious withdrawal of currency from the channels of trade. By picking out sundry national banks for the deposit of the proceeds of the bond issue, Mr. Gage seeks to prevent any accumulation of money in the Treasury. And this he may succeed in doing. But in thus picking out sundry banks as depositories of the proceeds of the bond sale he does not prevent the withdrawal of money from the channels of industry and its injurious accumulation. What he does do is to make an accumulation of money in certain

banks where the best part of such funds, payable on demand of the Treasury, will be lent out on call and for the most part to speculators. To manufacturers and to merchants wanting to borrow money for fixed periods, to discount notes, these funds will not be available, for the banks holding such deposits subject to the call of the government on demand will hardly dare to loan out such funds on time. So money will be taken and is being taken out of the channels of industry. The result is a certain checking to industry that is generally reported.

THE Spanish have dispatched their last effective squadron from home waters and take much pains to make it known that it is directed to sail to the Philippines. As to the destination and whereabouts of their fleets they have been most secretive in the past, doing their best to keep us in ignorance of their purposes. Now, if we can believe them, they have taken just the other ground, that of unfolding their plans before us and the world that we may know how to meet them. But we bear in mind that behind many words, as well as secretion, it is possible to hide purposes, and so it is that the Spanish may have resolved to adopt the blind of words for a time. Still, it is true that Admiral Camara could not sail for the Philippines by the way of the Suez Canal without exposing his whereabouts and direction, and so it was telling no secrets that could be kept by giving the direction in which he was bound.

But the impression is that Camara is not bound to the Philippines, bound to be crushed as his fleet, inferior to that of Dewey, would certainly be if it approached Manila, but that he was directed to sail to Suez, and the announcement made that he was bound to the Philippines merely to allay a popular demand in Spain. If he does sail eastward he will have to take his coal along for he cannot get it en route, as, under her neutrality declarations, Britain, that controls the coaling stations, must refuse him permission to load coal to carry him further away from home and on a hostile mission. Coal to carry him back to Spain, to carry him to his nearest home port, would be given him but none other, and if he took coal under this profession and then sailed eastward he would be interdicted from getting coal at any British station for three months thereafter.

No sooner was it announced by the Spanish Government that the Cadiz squadron, under Admiral Camara had sailed for the Philippines, than with more than an equal blare of trumpets President McKinley announced that an American fleet under the command of Commodore Watson, recently in command of the Havana blockading squadron, had been detailed to carry the war to the coasts of Spain. Evidently it was hoped that one of the chief purposes of sending such fleet to Spain could be attained by the announcement of the formation of such a squadron. That hope must be that the fear of such fleet, especially among the Spanish shipping classes who would have much to lose from its arrival, will give impetus to the demand for peace.

Some suggest that the announcement of a fleet to proceed at once to the Spanish coast was made with a view of inducing the Spanish Government to recall Camara to the defense of the Spanish coasts, thus freeing Dewey of the movement threatened against him. But this supposition is hardly tenable, for there is no reason for us to wish the recall of Camara from his reported mission which, if he strives to carry it out, must lead to his destruction.

THE WAR brings up a series of questions that are all resolved into the one: "Shall the war undertaken as a war of liberation be turned into a war of conquest?" In some quarters the effort is being made to drag this question into the circle of partisan politics and cause an alignment of the Republican and Democratic parties on different sides of the question, the Republicans stand-



ing for what the advocates of grasping everything we can lay our hands upon and despoiling the conquered do not hesitate to call "Imperialism" and the Democrats standing against territorial expansion. If this could be made a new issue and the issue dividing the Republican and Democratic parties the rejoicing of those who strive to see that both old parties serve the moneyed oligarchy would be great.

Thus says the New York Times in some elation. "The policy of expansion may have its perils but they are not to be compared to the perils of Populism, which are effectually and for all time averted by the coming of these new questions." That is to say that the country shall be embarked on a policy of conquest, of foreign wars, of the spreading of blood with the single purpose of diverting the attention of the American people from reforms to which they are turning and whose adoption would mean the overthrow of the moneyed oligarchy,—that is if the would be despoilers of mankind can have their way.

BUT the Republicans do not catch on to the cry of "Imperialism" which is raised for them with any avidity, and the Democrats hesitate to make opposition to territorial expansion a party issue. In fact, there is a decided disposition to fight shy of the questions. Thus the Republican State Convention of Ohio, held at Columbus ten days ago, and absolutely under the domination of Senator Hanna, contented itself with this shallow resolution:

"In the near future important problems will arise out of the war in which the nation is now engaged. Among others will be the disposition to be made of conquered territory. The people can safely leave the wise and patriotic solution of these great questions to a Republican President and a Republican Congress."

And Indiana Democrats who held their state convention on the same day did no better save that having nothing to say they had the good sense to say nothing. But though the convention did not speak on the foreign annexation question, Senator Turpee, in addressing the convention, did. He said about what the Ohio Republicans said, save that he expressed trust in the American people instead of the Republican party to find the solution. This is the way he evaded the question:

"Concerning the disposal of our military acquisitions, and of the subjects incident to the close of the war now pending, they may well be remitted to the future to which they belong, to the great future rapidly approaching, fraught with high questionings of the career and destiny of our beloved country, where we may leave them in the full confidence that the American democracy will deal with them in due season, and in such manner as shall best subserve the national interest and best comport with the national honor."

THE Hawaiian annexation resolution has alone held Congress in session during the past week. The work of the session is in such shape that it can be finished up in short order and adjournment taken as soon as the Senate is done debating the Hawaiian resolution.

In its closing days Congress took up and passed a bill of a character that previous Congresses have struggled with in vain for years. A national bankruptcy law, the result of the work of several months in conference, was approved, first by the Senate and then the House. As all conference committee bills necessarily are, it was more or less of a compromise between those who demanded the creation of a federal bankruptcy law for the collection of debts and those wanting a purely voluntary bankruptcy law by which unfortunate debtors could secure a release from old debts and secure a new start in life. Whether the compromise bill will prove happy or the reverse, whether the bankruptcy bill and the procedure under it will be acceptable or not can be told after the law is tried.

One other measure of much importance before the House was not only not taken up but relegated to the next Congress; namely the so-called Currency Reform bill that provided for the

destruction of our national paper currency and the substitution of bank paper and that if enacted would ultimately lead to the dis-establishment of the gold basis to which it is professed we would be more firmly wedded by its adoption and the establishment of a bank paper basis. But it is significant that though the consideration of this measure was put off it has the almost universal approval of the Republicans of Congress, it being announced that it was put off only because it could not be carried through the present Senate. The putting off therefore cannot be looked upon as the killing of this plan.

THE ministerial crisis in France has been ended in a way that bids fair to open an acute crisis between France and England, and over a dispute, that of the Gold Coast and the possession of its hinterland, that was far on the road to a satisfactory settlement. The Brisson ministry that has just been formed has not the elements of permanence, nor is it believed that it will last long. But it may hold on long enough to generally upset the foreign relations of France. M. Hanotaux, who has held on as Foreign Minister through many cabinets, held his place through many crises and kept the foreign policy of France unchanged through many cabinet changes is removed, and M. Delcasse, noted for his advocacy of an anti-British colonial policy, takes his portfolio as Foreign Minister. It is a change that may upset all the delicate negotiations of M. Hanotaux with the British Foreign Office over the Gold Coast hinterland and lead to the re-opening of that dangerous dispute.

#### SHALL THE PEOPLES PARTY LIVE?

THAT there should be occasion to propound the above question causes us regret, that there should be any doubt as to the answer that may be given causes us regret much more profound. Aye more, that there should be need to ask such question, that there should be any doubt as to what the answer may be pains us, pains us deeply, beyond the power of words to express. In the Peoples party we have a party and the only party upholding the principles of true democracy, standing for the equality of man, demanding that the great truths upon which is founded our great Republic, upon which all democratic government must rest, shall be recognized and observed. Yet it is asked, and asked doubtfully: Shall this party live?

When we ask such questions and pause in doubt as to what the answer may be we feel as if we were asking: Shall democratic government live, shall the principles upon which our Republic is founded live, shall justice, equity, love live or perish in a rule of injustice, despoilment, greed? And when we ask such questions we feel that we are doing grievous wrong, guilty of sacrilege to Him who rules the universe with infinite goodness, with laws of equity and rules of justice to pause in doubt as to what the answer may be. We cannot but feel that, if we show ourselves worthy, the blessings of liberty, of democratic government will be given us; that under a rule of equality and justice a career of progress, greatness and happiness will be granted us.

Somewhere on earth democracy will live, somewhere, with some people, will justice and equity reign supreme while a rule of injustice, of despoilment, of greed, will be no more. If not with us, democracy must live with some other people. If we are deserving it will live with us, we will enjoy the blessings; if not deserving we will not. But let no man doubt that it will live with some other people, if not with us. It is so written in the book of history. Those people who more closely approach a rule of equality and justice, who most thoroughly discard a rule of despoilment and greed, will progress and attain greatness; the more nearly they approach a rule of true democracy the greater will be their progress, the greater their command over the



resources of nature, the greater the blessings showered upon them, the greater their superiority over other peoples who are ruled more by the law of despoilment and greed, less by the law of equality and justice. But let this people fall away from observance of a rule of equality and justice, and retrogression will take the place of progress, such people will slide backwards while others, approaching nearer and nearer and not falling further and further away from the rule of equality and justice, others that are more deserving of success will slide by them, and so new and powerful nations be built up while the old crumble, cursed by themselves. It has ever been so, and so it will ever be. The nation that seeks to live by the rule of despoilment and greed will crumble. It is the inexorable punishment that befalls such national sinfulness.

The American people can bring this punishment upon themselves, they can cause the downfall of our Republic, the crumbling of the American nation. But as they can bring down such punishment so can they avert it. That of which they may show themselves deserving will be meted out to them, the curse of a declining state or the blessings of liberty and equality. The path by which this punishment may be averted is pointed out by the Peoples party, it is to avoid the temptation of despoiling thy neighbors. Let individual and nation observe this rule of justice and the Republic will grow and prosper, there will be comfort and happiness; let it be unobserved and our Republic will crumble, there will be suffering, discontent, despair.

And neither of the old parties observes such rule, both ignore it, trample upon it; their rule must lead to the destruction of our Republic, to untold disaster, infinite suffering and distress. The Peoples party alone demands observance of such rule, demands pursuit of that path which will not lead to destruction, that will lead to the upholding of a true democracy, and yet it is questioned: Shall such party live?

It would seem that among our citizenship of conscientious and honest men, firmly believing in the principles of democracy, there could be but one answer. Yet there is an apathy among the masses of our people born of a want of conception of the dangers that confront us, of the evils and abuses that are felt but are not seen and a despondency among certain of those who do understand, firm Populists, but who despair of their party, that bodes much evil to our Republic. For such despondency this is no time or place, nor is there occasion for it. It is true that the life of the Peoples party, of the only party standing for true democracy, is on the point of going out. But there is no reason why it should go out, much reason why it should not be permitted to go out, and if true Populists will do their duty and not rest passive and despondent, the Peoples party and with it democratic government can be saved.

It is true that the Peoples party is threatened with death through absorption into the Democratic party; it is true that pursuit of the policy of fusion, of the policy to which Mr. Butler is pledged, will lead to such death, and it is true that he controls what once was but should no longer be regarded as the National Committee of the Peoples party. It should not be so regarded for though it was chosen as a National Committee of the Peoples party, it has not served the Peoples party but been its undoing.

It may be denied by some of those who support Mr. Butler in the National Committee that they are longer working for fusion, profession of antipathy to fusion may be made by them with some ulterior design, but no one who was at Omaha two weeks ago can doubt that the policy of fusion holds unquestionable sway with the Butler forces. In the Democratic party they put trust, and the Democratic party they support and declare their purpose to continue to support believing or professing to believe that the Democratic party will, if entrusted with power, carry out the reforms of the Peoples party.

Let anyone who so believes join the Democratic party for there he rightly belongs and cease to call himself a Populist. Those

who do not so believe, and they unquestionably constitute the vast majority of those who ever voted a Populist ticket, cannot longer follow Mr. Butler and they will not. And no longer following Mr. Butler there is just one of two things for them to do: Lie down in despair because Mr. Butler has deserted the Peoples party, let the party die and with it the hope of a people being crushed by abuses and enslaved by the growing oligarchy of wealth, the hope of uplifting a pure and true democracy or, like free men capable of independent thought and action disdain to be cast down because of the desertion of a few leaders, place confidence and trust in the uprightness and probity of mankind, in the infinite justice and goodness of our Creator and, so trusting, raise up the banners of Populism now trampled upon by those charged to defend them, place them in new hands and bid the new leaders to carry them forward where principle and not self-preferment leads.

Such is the question before Populists. There is a crisis before the party and the American people and it is no time for brooding, no time for halting. It is a time for decision and action, a time to keep in mind that no help will come to those who will not help themselves, that to those who will help themselves intelligently and earnestly, who refuse to despair, refuse to give way to despondency will not be denied the blessings of which they show themselves deserving.

The bald truth is that we have been deserted by our leaders. Shall we throw down our arms or—choose new leaders and go forth to victory? That is the simple question before us. There is only one way in which it can be answered right and that way it must be answered if the Peoples party is to live.

On this point let there be no misconception. The Peoples party, as an independent party, has been deserted by its leaders. Aye, worse than deserted. Its appointed leaders have striven to make of it a mere adjunct of the Democratic party, and so far as they have been able to do so this they have done. They have not succeeded in any great degree for the rank and file have refused to become parties to a trade contemplating the sacrifice of principle and their degradation for the uplifting of a few individuals. But leaderless, with the banners of true Populism in the nation upheld only by individual effort, straight Populists have been left. In a word they have been left without a national party organization. Until they build up such an organization the Peoples party can have no existence as a national party, take no part in national affairs, is, to be brusque, dead. If such organization is not built up, the Peoples party will die in states where it has vivacious existence as well as in the nation.

To give life to the Peoples party throughout the nation and reflexly throughout the different states the National Organization Committee of the People's party has pointed out the way. It pointed it out in the address issued to the Populists of the United States from Omaha on the 17th of last month, and the call for the holding of a national convention of the Peoples party to meet in Cincinnati September 5th, next. If Populists would save their party, to that address and that call they must respond. That they will so respond we do not permit ourselves to doubt, for otherwise must perish the Peoples party, the only party standing by the immortal principles upon which our Republic rests, without whose recognition it cannot continue to exist—must perish the hope of true democracy, of believers in equality and justice. And this cannot be.

Yet we see some good and true Populists so cast down by the desertion of Populist leaders as to be ready to permit this to be, ready to let the Populist party die without further effort to save it. To them we can but say that, if it does die, it will die through their default to take the action that can save it; we can but add our trust and belief that the despair now apparent with some will be shaken off, that they will rise promptly to the sacrifices demanded of them to save the Peoples party, save democratic government, save unimpaired the rich heritage of liberty



and equality bequeathed to us for the enjoyment of their children and their posterity.

Some may despair, some may have sunk into the slough of despondency, some may regard the Peoples party as past saving, the overthrow of the moneyed oligarchy that bears down our people an impossibility, the building up of a true democracy in America as past attainment; may look upon our beloved Republic as fated to perish, but we do not, do not despair, do not despond, do not regard the Peoples party as dead, do not look upon the attainment of the best and purest of governments, a true democracy, as an idle dream. We have no right too. Let all true Populists think likewise, say we have no right to give up, and the Peoples party, democratic government, our beloved Republic, all will be saved.

#### RECEPTION OF THE OMAHA CALL.

SENATOR BUTLER'S comment on the late National Committee meeting at Omaha is that it resulted in a separation of the sheep from the goats. It did, indeed, and when the goats took themselves off the flock was little diminished. Senator Butler has striven earnestly and continuously to lead the Peoples party into fusion, which is but another name for absorption by the Democratic party. He has done this, though the Democratic party stands for little that the Peoples party stands for and much that it does not.

In deserting to the Democratic party he strove to take with him the Peoples party in its entirety, or failing in this the best part of it. But in this he failed, for the rank and file of the Peoples party refused to desert the advocacy of principles dear to them and all for a mess of pottage of which they could not partake. For a time and during the 1896 campaign Mr. Butler carried a great part of the Populist party with him and to the aid of the Democracy. He led Populists to believe that the Democratic party that had then apparently overthrown the gold ring and had taken up the advocacy of free silver would soon become a thorough advocate of all the demands of the Peoples party, and so to the support of the Democratic party Populists went as the quickest way to attain that for which they were fighting. But Populists, the majority of them, have since come to see that there was no surer way to set back that for which they fought than to waste their strength, lose their identity, destroy their party organization by abandoning their own party to help into power the Democratic party that well served the moneyed oligarchy before the campaign of 1896 and has shown its disposition to serve that oligarchy since. Seeing that to seat the Democratic party in power in the nation would be but to seat the moneyed oligarchy, the rank and file of the Peoples party refused to longer follow Mr. Butler in going to the aid of the Democracy which he called purified, but which they felt to be unchastened.

So when Mr. Butler showed his determination at the National Committee meeting at Omaha to desert the Peoples party and go to the aid of Democracy he could not carry with him the members of the National Committee from the states where Populists are many and where, the Democratic party being in power, its corruption and impurity is grievously felt and vivid in the minds of Populists who have suffered infinitely from its tyranny, from the untoward and arbitrary disfranchisement of independent voters and the debauchery of the ballot by the Democratic machine. Mr. Butler may desert the Peoples party but he cannot cause any considerable portion of the Peoples party to desert with him. His determination to desert the Peoples party and go to the aid of the Democratic party in the future as in the past he showed at Omaha, but true Populists refused to follow him in his desertion. This brought the separation of the sheep from the goats; it will bring the rebuilding of the Peoples party freed of the influence of those who would make it an adjunct of the Democratic

party and purified of the taint of supporting a party corrupt and impure if the true Populists of the land will respond to the call of the National Organization Committee with that earnestness that brooks no defeat, turns back at no obstacle, no sacrifice.

It may be best to remark before going further that the above comment is predicated upon editorial utterances in Mr. Butler's paper *The Caucasian*, for sometimes Senator Butler disowns responsibility for what appears in his paper. And it is in the columns of his paper that we find the text for the above, namely, the separation of the sheep from the goats, but this time the editorial utterance of his paper bears the unmistakable impress of the Senator's style. His bitterness and vindictiveness all show through.

But it is not the reception of the Omaha call by Senator Butler that is of importance. It is of no material importance how he regards the call for a national convention to meet September 5th next, in Cincinnati, or how he treats it. It is the reception of this call by true Populists, by the Populist press, by the rank and file that bears on the future of the Peoples party. What the Democratic press, or the Fusionist press thinks of the call is of little or no concern. Supporters of the Democratic party, whether calling themselves Democrats or Fusionists, are not expected to respond to the call. It is the response of Populists, not of Fusionists, that we watch with interest. It is upon the character of the response of the former that hangs the success of those striving to upbuild the Peoples party. It is that response that will make clear whether the Peoples party can be rebuilt or whether it cannot. Therefore it is that we watch it with interest, therefore it is that we spread it before our readers that they too may watch.

Of the tenor of that response there can be little doubt. It will be favorable, almost unanimously so. The only question is as to the earnestness, the volume of the response; as to whether many true and good Populists are so discouraged by the acts of Mr. Butler and the seeming disruption of the party, that should rather be looked upon as its purification, as to become inactive and indifferent, hang back and withhold earnest support of the movement, not through want of sympathy but discouragement and a sense of uselessness, in a way to render futile the efforts to rebuild the Peoples party. The movement to save the Peoples party cannot succeed without the earnest and strenuous and united effort of all true Populists. With that effort, by the making of great sacrifices, by the doing of much unrequited work, unrequited save by that highest of pleasure and happiness that comes from serving one's fellow-man, sacrificing self that one's children may be uplifted and their lot alleviated, the Peoples party can be saved. Whether there will be that united effort or whether the despondency among good and true Populists is so widespread and deep as to make the putting forth of such effort impossible will be unfolded in the next few weeks. We can but say that for our part we feel no despondency in this, the time for re-aligning the forces of the Peoples party in preparation for what should be the hour of victory. If it was not for the despondency of others and the lethargy that despondency brings we would feel no uneasiness, no trepidation as to the result.

It is true that there are some Populists whom we had hoped and expected to see earnestly working for the rebuilding of the Peoples party who are inclined to trust yet a little longer in Butler promises, look for the carrying out of an anti-fusion policy under his leadership. Among these we find Mr. Motsinger, of Indiana, editor of the *Referendum*. Holding aloof from the movement for the rejuvenation of the Peoples party and the call of the National Organization Committee for a national convention in September of this year, he remarks in his paper:

"We prefer to wait and see fusion break its own neck in the elections held this fall, and in case Butler and the National Com-



mittee refuse to carry out fully and faithfully the anti-fusion resolutions passed, or shall fail to call the Populist National Convention to meet at least thirty days before the national convention of either of the old parties, then we will heartily join our Southern friends and all straight Populists in seizing the Populist banner and wresting it from the hands of fusion traitors."

But let us ask what there would be for Mr. Motsinger to join thirty days before the holding of the old party conventions in 1900, and in the event of the National Committee rescinding the resolutions recently taken, should "our Southern friends and straight Populists" act as Mr. Motsinger proposes to act and fail to take the early action now proposed to build up the Peoples party? Clearly there would be no straight Populist organization upholding the Populist banners and which Mr. Motsinger could heartily join. Nor would there be time to build such an organization. The cause of the people would be lost.

And now one word as to the anti-fusion resolutions of the National Committee which Mr. Motsinger has a lingering hope will be fully and faithfully carried out. One of them was a resolution to call the national convention of the Peoples party thirty days before the convention of either of the old parties. But what promise was there or what promise could be given that this resolution will not be rescinded when the National Committee meets again or even before by a mail vote of the members. Obviously, absolutely none.

What is more those who passed these resolutions did so with evident purpose to disregard them or rather rescind them at their convenience. These resolutions of anti-fusion were passed by fusionists, by professing fusionists, by that part of the committee whose very last act at Omaha prior to final adjournment, was to rapturously applaud a telegram read by Mr. Breidenthal of Kansas, to the effect that the Populists of Kansas, in convention assembled, had just declared for fusion. Moreover we were very plainly told by Mr. Butler that any action taken by the committee and that did not meet his approval and that of the fusionists would be rescinded by the committee. This Mr. Butler baldly asserted when he arose from the chair to oppose the resolution agreed to by the members of the second Committee on Conference of his own appointment and calling a national convention of the Peoples party to meet in March 1899. He stated in so many words that if the committee should adopt such resolutions it would not be thirty days before some three members of the committee would join in requesting him to submit a rescinding resolution to the members of the National Committee by mail and that the result of the mail vote would be an order to rescind the resolution. And this declaration of Mr. Butler was emphasized by cries from the fusionists that it would not be thirty minutes after the adoption of a resolution for an early convention was passed before the machinery of the National Committee would be set in motion to rescind it.

It is puerile to talk of seizing the Populist banner and wresting it from the hands of fusion traitors thirty days before the holding of the national conventions of the old parties if it should be then apparent that the fusionists were bent on fusion. Beyond all reasonable doubt they will be so bent—on what else could earnest fusionists be bent? and then it will be too late to wrest from their hands the Populist banner. It cannot be done, for if the straight Populist banner, the banner of principles and not of spoils, is not now held aloft and henceforth carried aloft there will be no Populist party to hold a convention in 1900. Before that time the organization will be absorbed into the Democratic party, the rank and file dissipated and scattered beyond recall.

We also observe the Chicago *Express* taking much the same position as Mr. Motsinger, depending upon a pronounced fusionist to carry out a policy of straight Populism and counseling Populists to wait, wait before taking independent action to see if, trusting in fusionists, they will be again betrayed. How often must one be burnt to learn?

But, we repeat, the Populists who take this position are few.

It is true that some earnest Populist papers, resolved on upholding the Peoples party as an independent party, have been led by the partial press reports to speak of the National Committee meeting at Omaha as having resulted in harmonizing the differences between Mr. Butler and the rank and file of the Peoples party, whereas such differences were shown to be past harmonizing, and the first step to the building up of the Peoples party shown to be the purification of the Peoples party by the separation of the fusionists and Populists, the weeding out of those who would make of the Peoples party a mere adjunct of the Democratic party, and so a servitor of the moneyed oligarchy, the way to the taking of which step was duly pointed out.

It is none the less true that, excepting the avowed fusionists, there are few Populists, even in the middle West, who are inclined to trust longer in Mr. Butler, and withhold, on this account, approval of the course taken by the National Organization Committee in issuing the call for a national convention of the Peoples party to meet in September next. And in the South there has come to our knowledge opposition to the course taken by the National Organization Committee and a declared purpose to longer follow Mr. Butler from only one paper of influence. This is the *Southern Mercury*, of Texas, evidently voicing the views of General Tracy, certainly not of Mr. Park. This position of the *Mercury* surprises us infinitely; we regret it much, for it shows a split in what we regarded as "united Texas;" we cannot understand it, much less explain it. So comment we suspend, only taking time to say that the position taken by the *Mercury* is very similar to that of Mr. Motsinger, in Indiana, namely, trust the leadership of fusionists in an anti-fusion campaign; trust a one time betrayer until again betrayed.

But the one thing that seriously threatens the success of the movement for the rebuilding of the Peoples party, its rebuilding as a party that can serve our people, fight the abuses that surround them, overthrow the moneyed oligarchy and save the Republic from the dangers that threaten it is the despondency that has fallen upon some erstwhile most earnest and indefatigable of Populists. This despondency, this feeling that all the work that has been done is lost, that the Peoples party cannot be saved, that the money power cannot be successfully combatted and that democracy in America will perish despite all that can be done to save it bids fair to in fact make all the work that has been done futile, make the Peoples party past saving, the money power supreme. All the work that has been done is not lost unless those who despair, and, despairing, give up make it so; the Peoples party is not past saving unless those who have been most earnest to save it cease, through despair, in their efforts to save it. The present is a time to go forward, not to halt.

We can well understand how earnest men who have worn themselves out, reduced themselves from abundance to penury, made sacrifices that the world knows not of in fighting to build up the Peoples party, should be cast down by the magnitude of the work that must yet be done before that fight can be won. We can well understand how the position of Mr. Butler and the National Committee makes that building up most difficult, and how men who had hoped that Mr. Butler would step aside when shown that he could thereby facilitate, yes, make easy the upbuilding of the Peoples party should have felt discouraged, hopeless, when he refused, refused to resign the chairmanship of the National Committee to help along a cause for which they had sacrificed so much. But for despair and hopelessness there is no reason. Purified of the taint of fusion, standing forth as an independent party, as the party and only party of true democracy, the Peoples party can now be built up. It will take work, no end of work, of sacrifices, but let feelings of despondency be put aside as unworthy, let earnest men and true Populists unite in a resolve to sacrifice themselves in a worthy cause if they cannot attain victory, and henceforth labor spent in building up the Peoples party will show greater and greater results, until finally



the battle is won, regard for the welfare of man exalted above the interests of Mammon and the moneyed oligarchy that sets at naught democratic government overthrown.

And under the invigorating example of the great majority of true Populists who are not cast down but encouraged by the results of the Omaha meetings of two weeks ago and the action of the Organization Committee in reaffirming the resolution of the Nashville conference of a year ago that the Peoples party was "born to live and not to die" and pointing out the way to the keeping of that resolution and the building up of the Peoples party as a party independent and capable of serving the people, we cannot doubt that the despondency that has overtaken some good and tried Populists will be dissipated and the lethargy born thereof, and which threatens the successful carrying out of the plans laid down in the call of the National Organization Committee for the rebuilding of the Peoples party, give place to earnest action that will insure the successful carrying out of those plans. As evidence of the firm resolution of the great majority of Populists to uphold the action of the National Organization Committee taken at Omaha on the 17th inst., and the very general approval of that course we point to several excerpts from the Populist press that will be found elsewhere.

Four months ago the Populists of Georgia, in state convention, pointed out the way to save the Peoples party. They anticipated the action taken by the National Organization Committee at Omaha two weeks ago, in fact, demanded the taking of such action. And now again the Populists of Georgia point the way, show the determination that if responded to in kind by Populists elsewhere will lead to victory in 1900, lead to the overthrow of the moneyed oligarchy and the enthronement of the people in their rightful place, that is, as their own rulers. On the 23d of June the Populists of the Fifth Congressional District of Georgia, in convention assembled at Atlanta, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The Congressional Convention for the Fifth District of Georgia having had under consideration the action of the National Organization Committee, and also that of the Butler Committee, at the late meeting at Omaha, Neb., does:

*First.* Congratulate the true Populists throughout Georgia and the Union, that Marion Butler and his fusion, co-operative gang of pretended Populists, have at last lost even the semblance of disguise, under which they deceived the Populist party at St. Louis, in 1896, and afterwards so basely betrayed it with intent to transfer the Populists to the Democratic party, and thus defeat the great reform movement, inaugurated and organized at Omaha in 1892.

*Second.* That we endorse, commend and approve the action of the National Organization Committee, at Omaha, for their fidelity to the trust reposed in them by the Nashville Convention by standing firm and immovable in the "middle of the road" in defense and support of the Populist party, and in calling a National Convention, to assemble at Cincinnati, in September, 1898.

*Third.* That Georgia Populists know from long and sad sad experience that whatever may be the utterances and pretensions in convention platforms, in newspapers or on the stump that the Democratic party, *in power*, is the party of intolerance, bigotry and tyranny, managed and controlled by machine politicians, who are foisted into position by money and a prostitution of the ballot, and sustained by a debased judiciary—themselves being the witnesses as developed in their personal quarrels—as instanced by the fact that fraud, corruption and bribery, open and notorious, in elections, are winked at and ignored by officials acting under oath—sworn to enforce the laws.

*Fourth.* That we appeal to our brother Populists in the East, North and North-west, who are not office holders nor office seekers but now being oppressed by the moneyed classes, to unite with us in a determined effort to maintain the principles of the Omaha and St. Louis platforms and save us, The Peoples Party, and all Americans from industrial slavery, and to this end to organize and meet us in convention in Cincinnati, observing with great care, the ordinances of the founders of the Peoples party, "That no person holding any office, federal or state, of

profit, honor or emolument, Senators or Congressmen, shall be eligible to a seat in any convention of the party."

Let the response be hearty to this appeal and the Peoples party will be saved, the cause of the people won, the principles of true democracy observed in our government after the elections of 1900.

#### VIEWS OF THE POPULIST PRESS.

MISSISSIPPI is one of those states in which the Democratic machine has carried to an extreme the practice of disfranchising those citizens who are so independent and honest as to oppose its corrupt and degrading domination. Though three hundred thousand of free men reside within her borders, her average electorate consists of scarce more than 40,000 men. Thus only one man out of seven and a half ordinarily casts a vote, when the most earnest effort is made on the part of independent voters to register not more than one out of five. The other four are not permitted to vote.

It was at the constitutional convention of a decade or so ago that the effort was made to draw up an instrument that would secure continued domination to the Democratic machine by giving it wide discretionary power in the registering of votes. Of this convention Captain Frank Burkitt was a member and against this nefarious attack upon democratic government, upon the right of the people to rule he protested in the convention and protested outside but in vain. The upshot was that he left the Democratic party that he had been born into, the party that held out to him political advancement and emoluments and joined the Peoples party. Such move cost him more dearly than anyone knows but himself, exposed him to loss of property, to unending abuse, to the bullet of the would-be assassin. And not long since some Democratic papers of Mississippi, in chiding him for his abandonment of the corrupt Democracy, called attention to what they brazenly called the foolishness of one who, they blandly asserted, would have ere this been raised to the governorship of the state if he had been content to wait and serve the Democracy. Thus they evinced their narrow and base view of politics. But Captain Burkitt cared not for the governorship from such unclean hands, he felt that no man could be honored by being lifted to office by the corrupt Democratic machine.

Four years ago he was chosen by the Populists as their candidate for Governor, and made a campaign that was nothing short of brilliant. In a restricted electorate of less than 60,000, an electorate restricted so as to shut out the votes of his supporters he polled over 17,000 votes. Defeated by indefensible election laws dishonestly applied by a corrupt machine he gained the respect of the people of his state, the admiration, the trust of the Populists of the state who look to him for advice, for leadership.

As member and president of the National Reform Press Association, as member of the National Organization Committee and also of the National Committee of the Peoples party, he went to Omaha to represent his state. By common consent he was put forward by the straight Populists to present their case, to make clear their position, to set forth their demands, and he did it with an ability, an earnestness, a lucidity that would have brought conviction of the justice of the position taken by the true Populists and the fairness of their demands to the minds of men less prejudiced against him than his fusionist hearers.

By his effort he was much exhausted, by his failure to accomplish the impossible, but, above all, by the resolution of the fusionists to sacrifice all for local self-advancement that was made apparent, he was much cast down. To his people he gave his impressions of the Omaha meetings in the *People's Messenger* of June 22d. The chord of despondency pervades these impressions, but it would serve a good purpose if they could be read by the Populists of the United States. By reading his



words of melancholy forboding they would not be cast down, but made more firm in their high resolve to save their party, and by its means their country. We make no apology for presenting liberal quotations from his impressions of the Omaha meetings and results.

#### Captain Burkitt's Impressions.

"If Mr. Butler is a Populist we are not!"

Referring to the meetings in Omaha of the Reform Press Association, the National Organization Committee and the National Committee of the Peoples party, Capt. Burkitt begins his account with these remarks:

"Being a member of all three organizations we attended, and our supreme desire was that such action might be taken as would restore harmony to the party and leave every true Populist free in future to turn his guns on the common enemy. In this hope we have been sadly disappointed, because, as we honestly believe, the National Committee, in defiance of a sacred rule of the party, was dominated by the office-holding gang, who gave every evidence of their purpose to hold on to the machinery of the party, though they strangled it to death. Senators Allen and Butler and a number of Congressmen left their seats in Washington and came to Omaha, where in conjunction with the Nebraska Bryanites they succeeded by a small majority in maintaining the ascendancy of that old man of the sea, fusion, or co-operation as they now call it, and effectually disrupting our party organization.

"The election returns of 1892 and 1894 showed such a gratifying increase in our party vote we had hoped that, when a comparison was made with the deplorable condition of the party since the St. Louis convention, these gentlemen would cease their suicidal policy and allow a reorganization on strict Populist lines, but their prejudices, or selfish interests, caused them to refuse with such unanimity that we confess we are discouraged and feel that our labors in behalf of humanity have been absolutely fruitless and that we owe it to ourselves to retire from the struggle, if we can find a younger man, who feels it his mission to take up the fight where we lay it down, and await the time, if it ever comes, when the people will think and act for themselves rather than tolerate dictation from political bosses, who clearly showed at Omaha their united purpose not to permit the unquestioned interest of the People's party throughout the Union to outweigh their local and personal desires."

We here only desire to intrude the comment that we are selfish enough to hope that Captain Burkitt can find no younger man to take his place, that he may retire from the struggle, for in that struggle he is needed and the time is at hand when the people should be and can be and must be, if the Republic is to be saved, awakened to the necessity of thinking and acting for themselves and discarding the intolerable dictation of the political bosses who take their cue from the moneyed oligarchy. This awakening should be inaugurated by the Peoples party convention that meets at Cincinnati on September 5th next, and it can be, and if it is the labor spent in behalf of humanity will not seem lost. To save the labor already spent more labor must now be given, more sacrifices now be made, but it can be saved and that which now appears fruitless, and will be fruitless if the struggle is now given up in despair, made richly fruitful. For despondency this is no time. If given way to that will be really lost which is not now lost but which those who despair mourn over as lost. It is not yet lost and there is no occasion for despair unless we make the occasion by despairing.

Captain Burkitt continues:—

"It is an undisputed proposition, that to attain the reforms we seek, a powerful national party proclaiming the doctrines laid down in the Omaha and St. Louis platforms must be built up. Nobody honestly believes such a party can be built up so long as its followers in one section of the Union will fuse or co-operate with one of the old parties, thus forcing those in another section to make similar dickers with the other old party or stultify and humiliate themselves by an ignominious surrender to their ancient enemy."

Captain Burkitt then goes on to show how since fusion was

foisted on the party confusion has pervaded the party councils, and instead of acquisitions being gained, "thousands of reformers, thoroughly disgusted, have either returned to their old parties, or, completely disheartened, have retired from the unequal contest." He continues:—

"This disintegration must of necessity go on so long as the men now controlling the party are permitted to retain possession of its machinery. The straight Populists at Omaha hoped by making these representations calmly and dispassionately, to arouse patriotism to the point, that self would be relegated to the rear and party unity and advancement be made paramount, but we regret to say after agreeing on every other important question, that of holding an early convention to formulate the future policy of the party was peremptorily refused by the dominant faction on the ground that if such a course was taken Mr. Butler would be forced to retire from the chairmanship. And thus it was the personality of one man was made to override the good of the party, and thus it was the Populists from principle rather than for spoils, who stood 49 to 61 on the final test vote, were forced to cease their efforts for reform and abide the awakening of the American people, or call a convention of Populists independent of the Butler-Allen office-holders machine."

And, not content to cease their efforts for reform, to lie down and be enslaved, true Populists have called a national convention. Let all who see things as Captain Burkitt sees them, see that they are represented at such convention. Captain Burkitt goes on to analyze the vote, 61 to 49, by which the fusionists voted down the proposition to call and hold a national convention in March, 1899, for the purpose of formulating and declaring the future policy of the party, a proposition agreed to by the Butler members of a Conference Committee, but voted down on motion of Senator Allen, "who was violently opposed to it, because he saw it meant the decapitation of Butler and his henchmen early next year, and provided no escape for those fusionists who say they favor a straight fight now, to co-operate with either Democrats or Republicans hereafter." The analysis shows that on a basis of the 1892 vote the forty-nine voting for an early convention represented more Populist votes than the sixty-one voting against.

On the vote of the committee denying the right of General Vandervoort, of Omaha, to sit in the committee on a proxy of Congressman Howard, of Alabama, proffered in his behalf and denied simply because General Vandervoort was objectionable to the Nebraska fusionists because he had worked for straight Populism, a vote that stood 54 to 51, Captain Burkitt continues his comment:

"Among the fifty-four votes counted against Vandervoort, which was practically a vote denying a state the right to select a proxy without consulting the fusion office-holders of Nebraska, Delaware with only thirteen Populist votes in the state, Maryland with 796, New Jersey with 909, and Vermont with forty-two votes, cast nine. Nine more votes came from the territories which have no voice in a Presidential election and are therefore not quoted at all in the returns of 1892, on which the strength of Populism in the states above mentioned is based. Exactly one-third of the majority vote therefore represent nobody but themselves and the office holding ring with which they are allied, and six of these eighteen votes offset the votes of Texas and Georgia with their 330,000 Populist voters. With such advantages manufactured by Mr. Butler and his coadjutors in imitation of old party methods it is not strange he maintains his hold upon the throat of the party, but we imagine those of our friends who have known us long, would be surprised should we be still found rallying to the dishonored banner held by Marion Butler. For the relief of all such we desire to say if Mr. Butler is a Populist we are not, and so long as he is successful in usurping the party authority we claim non-responsibility for any position it may take or any act it may perform.

"About all we have to boast of now, is the fact we are still an American citizen, and as such we are proud of the achievements of Commodore Dewey, who is a Vermonter, and of Lieut. Hobson, who is an Alabamian, for neither of them ever evaded an enemy nor betrayed a friend and both are Americans."

Paul J. Dixon in the Missouri World.

To skip now from Mississippi to Missouri we take this from



the report of the National Committee meeting by Paul J. Dixon, member of the National Committee from the latter state and editor of the *Missouri World*. We pick up the thread at the point of the submission of the final conference report. There were two reports, a majority and a minority, Ferriss, of Illinois, voting with the Butler conferees:

The majority report made by Washburn, Anderson, Pomeroy and Ferriss provided for a national convention not later than March 1, 1899, to declare the policy of the party and reorganize the National Committee; also for a nominating convention to be held at least 30 days before the old parties hold theirs.

The minority report signed by Gen. Phillips and S. C. Granberry, provided for a nominating convention this year, declared against all fusion or co-operation, and against officeholders taking part in conventions. Senator Allen attacked the section of the majority report providing for the 1899 convention. The anti-fusionists, while willing to back up the minority report, were willing to compromise on the 1899 convention and many of them requested Gen. Phillips to withdraw the minority report and sign the majority report, which he did. Granberry, the other signer of the minority report, was not well and was at his hotel. When the majority report became the unanimous report it was hoped that the fusionists would accept it, but they did not. They voted against it to a man. The three fusionists who signed the report voted against it—every one of them. About the only important thing left in the report was that the next nominating convention shall be held at least thirty days before the old parties hold theirs. This feature seemed to be very acceptable to the fusionists, and it is believed by some that it is their intention to try to have the Populist convention nominate Bryan, as a leverage to be used by Bryan to get the Democratic nomination. However, this is just an inference."

#### Wickes of Iowa.—"The Life of the Party is Assured."

These, the concluding paragraphs from *The Advance* of Davis City, Iowa, C. A. Wickes editor, who sat in the National Committee on proxy, need no comment:

"At the meeting of the Organization Committee it was decided to hold a delegate convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 5th, next, to reorganize the National Committee and place in nomination candidates for President and Vice-President, for the year 1900.

Whether this is the wisest thing that could be done, we cannot say, but one thing is sure. Under a fusion policy the party cannot live, let alone grow, hence we shall cast our lot with those who stand for independent party action.

"We have taken no part in the fight upon Chairman Butler, and we deplore the bitter personal feeling that has arisen; but it was inevitable that it should come, and one side or the other must yield.

"If the Populists yield, then all is lost, for the fusionists are satisfied with the Chicago platform and claim to think that it is just about the same thing as the Populist platform.

"We cannot so understand it, therefore we must stand with those who stand for our ideas.

"Taken altogether, while the fusionists by superior opportunities and cunning held a majority in the meeting, it was a decided victory for the straight Populist forces, and the life of the party is assured. Long live the Peoples party!"

#### Abe Steinberger, Girard, Kansas—Shall We Go Ahead, or as a Party Die?

From the *Western World*, of Girard, Kansas, a straight Populist paper in a fusion state we clip the following comment:

"The call issued by the National Organization Committee of the Peoples party for a national convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, September 5, 1898, and given in full in this paper, is deemed by earnest Populists the only solution of the unfortunate attitude in which the party has found itself since the adjournment of the St. Louis Convention in July, 1896."

Mr. Steinberger then proceeds to summarize the proceedings of the fusionists in the National Committee, their overbearing attitude, their insincerity, their professions of a desire to harmonize, but their final refusal to make any concessions.

"There was nothing left for the Organization Committee to do," proceeds Mr. Steinberger, "but to call a national convention this year, despite the iron rule of the Butler wing, if it can be called a wing of the Populist party, and this has been done.

"There can be no misunderstanding of the situation. It is the parting of the ways. Either the Populists of this country will rally to the call for this convention and line themselves up as true Populists, or they will be delivered absolutely to the Democratic machine. Butler and Allen are the authorized managers of that portion of the Democratic machine which is to destroy the Populist party. The men who have joined as members of the Organization Committee are opposed to such a delivery, are determined that the Populist party shall live, and have offered this last opportunity for Populists to get together in delegate national convention and lay their plans for future work. *The World* believes nine-tenths of the Populists of the nation will accept this call as a solution of a staid and inflexible policy of the party and rally to its support."

"We commend a most careful consideration of the facts set forth in the call herewith published for the September convention, together with a careful reflection over the situation by all fair minded Populists everywhere and the issue confronting them. We must either go ahead or die as a party. Which will we choose?"

#### How Georgia Looks at It—The Populist Party Lives Again.

W. J. Henning, editor of the *Augusta Tribune*, sat in the National Committee meeting upon proxy. With General Phillips he represented Georgia at the Omaha meetings, and this is his terse report. No despondency about it. It breathes hopefulness, new life, invigoration in every line:

The Populist National Executive Committee, which was called by the chairman, Hon. Marion Butler, to harmonize the party, has met. Instead of harmonizing it has widened the breach and the result is that one faction has called a nominating convention to be held next September, while the other faction is pledged to hold its nominating convention one month earlier than the convention of either of the old parties.

The committee labored hard to bring about a reconciliation and unity in the party, but all to no avail. It appeared plainly that there existed an irreconcilable difference between the Fusionists and Populists, and so the inevitable split was no longer delayed.

"Every effort was made by the true Populists to avoid this breach. They yielded one point after another, agreeing at last that if the fusion officers of the committee would resign and allow their places filled by men who should be acceptable, and whose selection should be approved by both factions, they would have confidence in the professions of the fusion wing—that they did not contemplate, and would not consider any proposition, to fuse with either of the old parties in the next national campaign. But the Butlerites would agree to nothing except to let things remain statu quo, a condition under which there would be no Populist party left by 1900; and as Populists believe that the mission of their party is not yet completed, they did the only thing left them to do under the circumstances, which was to call a national convention at as early a date as possible. By a referendum vote it had been ascertained that an overwhelming majority of the party favored the holding of such a convention on July 4th, but as the time was too short, the time and place of the next Grand Army encampment was chosen as the earliest date at which the lowest railroad rates could be secured, thus assuring a full attendance.

"Senator Butler showed plainly at the convention that he was a trickster from away back. He declared that he would not vacate the office of national chairman, even though it should restore harmony in the party, giving as excuse for such action that the demand for his resignation was a personal attack upon him, and that he would not retire under fire. At the same time the report was caused to be circulated among the members that if the convention be allowed to adjourn without action, Mr. Butler would voluntarily resign within sixty days.

"As constituted in the beginning the Populists had a slight majority over the fusionists in the committee. To change this, Senator Butler appointed a one-sided Credentials Committee, with Senator Allen as chairman, which sat out all of the first day, while telegrams were being sent for proxies and still not having enough to give them a majority by 11 o'clock at night, Senator Butler stated that the committee would not be able to report before next morning, but would remain in session until agreed on their report, and in view of this he asked that a motion be made to adjourn until next morning. A motion was accordingly made by his side, and voted down, but Senator Butler declared it was carried, and, ignoring the demand for a division of the house on



the question, walked out of the hall. And as soon almost as the convention was adjourned the Credentials Committee, which the Senator had said would not be able to report for several hours, also adjourned.

The next day, the Credentials Committee was able to make a report which gave the fusionists a majority. This vote consisted of fourteen fusionist office holders in Nebraska, and the votes of the eastern states, together with the voters of the few fusion states of the West, which, it will be seen, really represents nothing.

Since it is evident that a split must come it is well that it was no longer delayed. To have allowed Senators Butler and Allen to let the party pursue the course they have mapped out means that there would be no Populist party soon. As it is now, a Populist ticket can be put out on a Populist platform, which Populists can support, and nothing will be left fusionists except to support it also or go back to the old parties they came from.

This assures the campaign of 1900 to be fought for principle, and not to get a few wire pullers an office. If the people believe Populist principles are right, the party will again grow as it did before the fusion deal at St. Louis was made. If the people believe one of the old parties is nearer right, they will support it.

Fusion was killed at Omaha last week, and if Populist principles are right, the party can grow again.

**General Phillips.—"There was no Split at Omaha."**

Lastly but not least we have the report of General Wm. Phillips in Thomas E. Watson's paper, the *Peoples Party Paper* of Atlanta, Ga. General Phillips is not of the despairing kind either. We quote his concluding paragraphs:—

"The resignation of Mr. Butler was demanded in the interest of harmony, the fact being apparent that the great body of true Populists—Populists from principle would not and will not follow the lead of Butler. This was resented as personal with assurances of agreement on principle. A written proposition absolutely devoid of all personalities or reflecting on the past and providing for adherence to the Omaha and St. Louis platforms, with the initiative and referendum and for a national convention March 1899 to declare the policy of the party and elect a committee to carry out that policy was rejected though reported favorably by a committee of three of Butler's men and agreed to by one of a like committee from the straight Populists and sustained by all of the middle-of-the-roads, their own committee at the direction of the bosses rejecting their own report.

The National Organization Committee seeing that they could not longer co-operate or act with the Butler committee which had deserted the party they were elected to represent and had betrayed the trust reposed in them, called a convention to meet at Cincinnati in September to nominate candidates, declare the policy of the party, and elect a National Chairman who will carry out the will of the party. For the taking of this step there was no alternative, except the unconditional surrender of the Peoples party to Butler and Democracy, which would have been as base and treasonable on our part as it was by Butler and his followers.

"It is gratifying for me to state that good and true Populists of Nebraska and elsewhere from the North and great Northwest assured me and requested that I say to their brethren of Georgia that now that the Peoples party was free from Butler and Butlerism they could reorganize with new life and hope and meet us at Cincinnati to prepare for the great contest of 1900 which is to determine at the ballot box whether industrial slavery shall be perpetuated and a moneyed oligarchy rule this land of freedom or whether there shall yet be a government of, by and for the people. And further, that the true Populists of the North and Northwest yet cling to the party with the same confidence, affection and devotion that the Georgia Populist does.

Be not deceived, there was no "split" at Omaha. Butler and his following have already gone to the Democratic party, a few of the bosses are to have their pay in offices this year by the help of Democrats and in 1900 to land in the Democratic ranks—Bryan and Cleveland—the middle roaders remained firm and stand fast to the Peoples party.

DIGNITY consists not in possessing honors, but in the consciousness that we deserve them.—*Aristotle.*

## PEOPLES PARTY DOINGS.

In 1896 the Peoples party of Michigan quite disappeared in fusion. As in other states it seemed that the Peoples party had been buried for good and all under the weight of fusion. But, as in other states, true Populists resolved to build up anew the party. To this end Michigan Populists who saw no salvation, no relief from the evils that beset our people save in the creation of an independent party, got together more than a year ago and put a straight Populist ticket in the field. The fusionists strove bitterly to prevent the recognition of this ticket as the Peoples party ticket. As such they strove to keep it off the ballot, claiming that the name Peoples party was their property, even though they did not use it, did not fight under it, but they strove in vain. The fusionists supported a ticket under a conglomerate name something like the Democratic-Peoples-Silver-Union party. Supporting such a ticket the courts refused to recognise them as what they were not, namely, Populists, and refused to deny the use of the name of the Peoples party to the organization that stood forth for straight Populism and presented a ticket of straight Populists.

Thus the straight Populists fought their way to recognition in Michigan a year and more ago. They laid firm foundations for the rebuilding of the Peoples party. On June 21st last, meeting in Grand Rapids in state convention they built solidly from these foundations. Fifty-six representative Populists of Michigan, Populists representing 312 delegates and every county in the state but six were in attendance. They went at their work with earnestness and enthusiasm, set forth that they were free from all entangling alliances and their determination to remain so, and nominated a full state ticket of straight Populists with Sullivan Cook, of Hartford, for Governor, at its head. The convention further showed its loyalty to Populism and its determination to preserve the Peoples party as an independent organization by removing Ben Colvin as one of Michigan's three members of the Peoples party National Committee because he had given his proxy to be voted at Omaha against straight Populism and for fusion and by substituting in his place John M. Harris of Saginaw. But it is well nigh certain that Mr. Harris will not be recognized as a National Committeeman by Mr. Butler and the fusionists who control that committee. At Omaha the National Committee refused to recognize the new members chosen by the recent Peoples party state convention of Iowa and who had exactly the same right to membership, indeed occupied the same position as does Mr. Harris of Michigan, *i. e.*, they were chosen by a state convention called by the Peoples party organization recognized as regular by the courts but which the fusionists of the committee refused to recognize as such.

Two days after the Populist convention, the fusionists of Michigan met in convention and joined with the Democrats and Silver Republicans in putting up a fusion ticket under a polyglot name.

**The Mid-Road Minnesota Convention.**

E. A. TWITCHELL, assistant editor of Ignatius Donnelly's paper, *The Representative*, writes of the straight Populist State Convention that met in Minneapolis, June 15th, as follows:

Nearly 400 delegates were present, perfect harmony and good nature prevailed and a more enthusiastic band of patriots never came together in a Minnesota convention. Nearly every prominent fighter in the party is a mid roader and their swords were well sharpened in the fusion convention of yesterday where up to midnight every step of the fusionists was stubbornly contested. Nearly three-fourths of the delegates present to-day are men who will be found doing battle for their cause and their ticket on the stump during the campaign. The entire stamping out of fusion in Minnesota is a certainty, and the achievements of to-day will place Minnesota at the front among the Populists of the nation. The eyes of Populists throughout the South are to-day turned toward the North Star state.

A voice comes to us for assistance and relief from the corruption and tyranny of a Solid Southern Bourbon Democracy, and to-night a prayer of gratitude will go up from every Southern state for our sympathy and support thus tendered to them.

As we stated last week the mid-road Minnesota convention put in the field a full state ticket, with L. C. Long, of Magnolia, at its head as candidate for Governor. The probabilities are that this ticket will be officially recognized as the only Peoples party ticket, the fusionist Populists being considered as Democrats, and so appear on the official ballot.



### Maine's Delegates Chosen to Cincinnati Convention.

The Peoples party state committee, of Maine, has selected the following men as delegates to the Cincinnati convention, Sept. 5th:

L. C. Bateman, Auburn, Me.  
John White, Levant, Me.  
W. G. Hapgood, Skowhegan, Me.  
Albion Gates, Carroll, Me.  
J. E. Ashe, Auburn, Me.

THE fusionists are in control in South Dakota. The Peoples party state convention that was held in Aberdeen, June 23rd, conjointly with the conventions of the Democrats and silver Republicans, was carried by a great majority for fusion, the straight Populists making up but a very small minority in the convention. The vote on the fusion proposition is reported as 802 for to 55 against.

IN A letter to the Omaha *Bee* General Vandervoort announces that the Populists of Nebraska shall have a straight Populist ticket to vote for this fall, even if he has to run for Governor himself. He writes:

"In 1896 I supported the straight ticket—Bryan and Watson. The men who oppose me supported Bryan and Sewall and are bolters. I was instructed by the Reform Press as their president to demand the withdrawal of Sewall, and if it was not done to force an earnest fight through all our press, over 600 papers, to make him do so. My action was sustained by all the papers in the Reform Press. . . . I am dead against fusion and the men who voted against me are red hot for it. . . . Because I have no part or lot with these deputy Democrats, some of whom, not satisfied with selling out their party to Sewall and bolting Watson, tried to sell to the Republicans, I say now that the honest Middle-of-the-road Populists in Nebraska shall have a straight state ticket to vote for, even if I have to run for Governor myself. I never ran for an elective office, but I will break the record, and, like Donnelly, of Minnesota, will give the true Populists a chance. The only way to kill fusion is to kill its candidates, and though the remedy is one I do not like, we are compelled to do it, as the state house ring only represents an organized appetite for office and official greed."

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY. 1775 to 1898. By Edgar Stanton MacLay. II. Vols. Pp. 660, 624. Illustrated. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$7.
- ANALYSIS OF THE FUNCTIONS OF MONEY. By Senator Wm. M. Stewart. Pp. 94. Washington, D. C.: Wm. Ballantyne & Sons. 50 cents.
- WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE. His Characteristics as Man and Statesman. By James Bryce. Pp. 104. New York: The Century Co. \$1.
- "DON'T WORRY" NUGGETS. By Jeanne G. Pennington. Pp. 79. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 40 cents.
- ANTI-SLAVERY LEADERS OF NORTH CAROLINA. By John Spencer Bassett. Pp. 74. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press. 50 cents.
- CHEERFUL YESTERDAYS. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Pp. 374. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.00.
- THE LABORER AND HIS PAY. An Original Treatment of the Financial Question, Especially with Reference to the Workingman's Wage. By Saville Johnston. Pp. 195. Boston: The Laborer Publishing Co.
- ANITA, THE CUBAN SPY. By Gilson Willets. Pp. 405. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 25 cents.
- HIS PRETTY COUSIN. An Idyll of Normandy. By Katharine Schuyler Baxter. Pp. 287. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 25 cents.
- NOAH'S LOG BOOK. By George Rogers Howell. Pp. 345. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 25 cents.
- A RUNAWAY COUPLE. A story of New York Society. By Oliver Lowrey. Pp. 454. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 75 cents.
- A WOUNDED NAME. By Capt. Charles King. Pp. 353. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. \$1.25.

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## BOOK REVIEWS.

### Retrospect of a Fortunate Reformer.

*Cheerful Yesterdays.* By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

A pompous personage was swaggering along the street when an insignificant man accosted him. "What do you wish to say to me, sir?" asked the imposing parader. "O, I only thought I would ask if you really are anybody particular," said the other, as he walked on without waiting for an answer. The general public lose a great deal by asking the same question of the subjects of biographies and autobiographies. No doubt some of these heroes court the impertinence by the airs they seem to put on, and it is unfortunate all round when this is so. The judicious reader makes no such inquiry. Expectation is too surely doomed to fall flat in the case of such books by or about big men. After all, life is made up of little and he is the wisest and will best succeed whose autobiography runs on all fours with the experiences common to most of us. For while we read lives of people partly for information and partly for entertainment, the highest secret delight we get is by using them as mirrors. We see ourselves in them, beautified here, distorted there, and it is wonderful what comfort comes from the easy way we identify our noble selves in the hero's best points and silently skip his weaknesses. Captivating autobiographies may be, and have been, written by nobodies in particular, giving honest thoughts about everything in general. Most assuredly the very best, most profitable and entertaining self-histories we have read have been those of utterly unknown men, who have found the knack of giving great natures ample elbow-room in what superficial folk would sneer at as dreadfully small circles. Pedagogues would scorn to tell their boys that there is more helpfulness and fascination in reading the self-told life-stories of a Robinson Crusoe or Thomas Edward, the Scotch naturalist, than those of Nelson, Washington or Dewey. It is nevertheless the simple truth, though, of course, the model youngster should read both. Taking a sweep of the first half of this century, during which these unknown autobiographers built up their books, it is interesting to recall that by far the best of them were ardent reformers of some sort. These have been the men of granite backbone, romantic enough to glory in tilting at windmills and mountains, strong enough to hew new paths and content to die when they are sure of the advance of the forces they have pioneered.

We have not many of the sturdy Abolitionists and original Woman's Righters among us to-day. Col. Higginson is seventy-five, though young at that. He links this generation with that of the Concord transcendentalists and the Boston school of reformers and literature makers. While it must be owned that he has not contributed as conspicuous a stone to the literary cairn as might have been expected, he has given it bulk by a number of serviceable additions, gathered in his work as preacher, lecturer, agitator, essayist and bookmaker. This autobiography would be no whit more interesting or valuable if the writer had been Emerson, Garrison and Lowell rolled into one, and probably less so. Not every champion of unpopular principles, who got into fights and almost into jail, would so gaily give his experiences the title, *Cheerful Yesterdays*. But Col. Higginson's lines fell on pleasant places. He does not disguise the extremist radical's pride in tracing a gentle lineage and a youth spent in an intellectual paradise. He was born in Cambridge, escaped inoculation with the doctrine of natural depravity, was never "converted," being above need thereof, passed from the reading of "a good many books" when a four-year-old to the mastery of eleven languages later on, and from thence to the eminence which the present autobiography gracefully crowns. An author at peace with himself and Fate cannot fail to be comfortable company. Col. Higginson dwells perhaps too lengthily on a youthtime which only sets his readers watering at the mouth. With all these aids to fame piled on his natural abilities why has he stayed where he is in literature? Perhaps a hint towards an answer can be got from the lines that tell how, as an infant prodigy, he "tumbled about" in Oliver Wendell Holmes's father's big library, besides having the run in those tender years, of all the ponderous and popular books that poured into his mother's lap from book clubs. "Add to this my mother's love of reading aloud, and it will be seen that there was more danger, for a child thus reared, of excess than of scarcity. Yet, as a matter of fact, I never had books enough, nor have I ever had to this day." This smacks of the antiquated (would that it were!) notion that the ability to



boast of familiarity with alleged great books is equivalent to having a great mind. It is a fine thing in youth to *have a great mind*, but too much gorging on other people's rather smothered originality. On page 181 the author speaks of Emerson and himself lecturing in each other's towns and he artlessly remarks, "I sometimes stayed at his house. It was a delight to be in his study, to finger his few and well-read books."

The pictures Colonel Higginson gives of the Boston of Motley, Lowell, Emerson, Longfellow and the Brook Farmers are very delightful. No less so is the omniscient air with which those sons of genius proclaimed their aptitude for any and every calling under the sun. "My brother came home one evening with the curt remark: 'Jim Lowell doubts whether he shall really be a lawyer after all; he thinks he shall be a poet.'" There was something sublime in the resolve then, when Chinese laundries were unknown, and before second-hand poetry factories had been run up on the corners of every back street. The chapter rather largely entitled "The birth of a literature" is an exceedingly interesting review of the men and women and their doings who "were actually creating American literature—creating it anew, that is, after the earlier and already subsiding impulse given by Irving and Cooper." Their names will bear repeating, Emerson, Hawthorne, Whittier, Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Motley, Parkman, Thoreau, with lesser stars, Alcott, Channing, Weiss, Whipple, and others. Colonel Higginson considers that all but the first two "failed to develop staying power," except Thoreau, "whom Lowell, and even his own neighbors, set aside as a mere imitator of Emerson." He continues, "My own relation to this circle was the humble one of a man younger than the rest, brought up under their influence, yet naturally independent, not to say self-willed, and very much inclined to live his own life. There was not one of these older men whom I had not sometimes felt free to criticise, with the presumption of youth, complaining of Emerson as being inorganic in structure, finding Whittier sometimes crude, Hawthorne bloodless in style, Holmes a trifler, Longfellow occasionally commonplace, Lowell often arrogant." If he said these things in the presumption of youth, it does not appear that the judgments have been reversed by the deliberateness of age. His own versatility he likens to a friend's horse, which never won a race, but came in second oftener than any horse in the country.

As a fighting abolitionist in the dangerous days, and a Brownite in Kansas, and as colonel of a negro regiment in the war, the author has a thrilling story to tell, and tells it with modest pride. These "yesterdays" were more fearful than cheerful in the living. The narrative belongs to national history, which will do justice to the author and his noble comrades. In 1872 and again six years later the author visited the literary worlds of London and Paris. He does not mention his appearance as a Sunday morning lecturer in the preaching place of a well-known American ex-divine. He was amused at the notions many cultured people then had of Americans at home. A young lady complimented him on speaking English differently from any Americans she had ever seen, and she had known "heaps of them in Florence." He replied that he simply spoke it as he had done all his life and as his parents had before him. When he proceeds to tell of this lady, how "she sung" a thrilling ballad, we are left in doubt whether the old folks used to speak of songs that were "sang," or whether the printer prefers the *u*. Among the many pleasing little reminiscences of celebrities he met may be noted this about Carlyle, with whom and Froude he had a walk. Col. Higginson was struck by "the peculiar quality of his laugh, which, whenever it burst out in its full volume, had the effect of dissolving all the clouds of his apparent cynicism and leaving clear sky behind." Carlyle he describes as having, though a Londoner for forty years, "the untamed aspect of one just arrived from Ecclefechan. He wore an old coat, with that unreasonably high collar of other days, in which the head was sunk; his hair was coarse and stood up of its own will; his bushy whiskers were thrust into prominence by one of those stiff collars which the German students call father-killers, from a tradition that the sharp points once pierced the jugular vein of a parent during an affectionate embrace." Since Carlyle's shirt collar is to go into history it may as well pass down the ages in its habit as it lived. Carlyle never possessed a stand-up collar. The learned and amiable author will admit the pardonable confounding of Gladstone's awe-inspiring machetes of starched linen with the philosopher's meek and mild turn-down collar, like Lincoln's, unchanged, except in girth, from the home-made ungainly hoop his proud mother first put around his infantile neck. Darwin and his happy family life greatly charmed Col. Higginson, such honest simplicity in everything. Tennyson, "the most un-

English looking man I had seen; tall, high-shouldered, careless in dress, and while he had a high and domed forehead, yet his brilliant eyes, tangled hair and beard gave him rather the air of a partially reformed Corsican bandit or an imperfectly secularized Carmelite monk." At Paris they were celebrating Voltaire, with Victor Hugo as orator. "He used much gesture and in impassioned moments waved his arm above his head, the fingers apart and trembling with emotion. Sometimes he clapped one hand to his head as if to tear out some of his white hairs, though this hardly seemed at the moment melodramatic." He was not distinct and his address, like his writings, was "a series of brilliant detached points." A highly edifying chapter is the one in which the author looks back on his public career. The only true eloquence, he tells young men who consult him on public speaking, is "a profound sincerity," which "overcomes the obstacles of a hoarse voice, a stammering tongue, or a feeble presence." In sincerity is evidently included earnestness, as without this it may prove no more effective than a blank cartridge. The book is crowded with topics of varied interest and can be opened at any page with the certainty of finding solid entertainment.

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#### Mr. Bryce's Portrait of Gladstone's Mind.

*William Ewart Gladstone.* By JAMES BRYCE. New York: The Century Co. \$1.

Probably no such generally acceptable eulogist of the late distinguished statesman can be found in England as the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, who, besides having been a member of the Gladstone and Rosebery ministries, and an intimate friend of the former, is eminent himself as author of "The American Commonwealth," "The Holy Roman Empire," and the more recent work on South Africa. Mr. Bryce is the more trustworthy a eulogist because of the candor which gives weight to all his writings. The noble lines on which Gladstone's strong character was cast are universally known and cordially admired. Equally known as a fact, though not as to causes and detail, is it that something in that grand character wrought to lessen, and often to alienate, the unbounded trust in his political principles on the part of his disciples. It is natural for those who see only the majestic proportions of the mountain from a distance to show impatience at the grumbling criticisms of dwellers incommoded by its ruggedness and occasional land or snow slides. Yet the botanist and geologist rightfully share with the artist the task of faithfully portraying it as it is. Taking for granted the exalted estimate we in this country have shared with the great body of his countrymen of Gladstone the man, an estimate Mr. Bryce would deepen and heighten, we are curious to learn from him the mystery of its shadows. He simply voices the common mind when he speaks of Gladstone as having long been "the most interesting human being in the House of Commons, . . . plenty of able men remained, but even the ablest seemed ordinary, perhaps even commonplace, when compared with the figure that had vanished, a figure in whom were combined, as in no other man of his time, an unrivalled experience, an extraordinary activity and versatility of intellect, a fervid imagination and an indomitable will."

The picture Mr. Bryce gives of Gladstone is evenly balanced in light and shade, but, as space is limited, we purposely quote the less familiar but equally important helps toward a thorough understanding of the man. Mr. Bryce says, "his was a singularly complex nature, a character hard to unravel . . . a bundle of opposite qualities capriciously united in single person. . . . He was dangerously impulsive . . . but so astute as to have been accused of craft and dissimulation." His Scotch and Celtic blood made him delight in casuistical reasonings. "He loved to get hold of an abstract principle and to derive all sorts of conclusions from it." He was able with perfect sincerity to split hairs so as to be in turn upon each side of any question in dispute, equally logical, fervid and brilliant when opposing as when, later, supporting a cause. "He was at different times the defender and assailant of the same institutions, yet he scarcely seemed inconsistent in doing opposite things, because his method and his arguments preserved the same type and color throughout." Of all things, says Mr. Bryce, with which men are concerned, "religion was that which had the strongest hold upon his thoughts and feelings." A model of profound piety as of purity of life, Gladstone was from first to last, but perhaps ecclesiasticism came first and theology second in order after personal religion. As a young man "he became and never ceased



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to be, not merely a High Churchman, but what may be called an Anglo-Catholic, in his theology, deferential not only to ecclesiastical tradition, but to the living voice of the visible Church, respecting the priesthoods as the recipients of a special grace and peculiar powers, attaching great importance to the sacraments, feeling himself nearer to the Church of Rome, despite what he deemed her corruptions, than to any of the non-Episcopal Protestant Churches." In connection with the "proneness to casuistry," Mr. Bryce remarks on the singular spectacle of so stout an upholder of Authority in religion destroying "an established Church in one part of the United Kingdom and committing himself to the destruction of two established churches in two other parts. He came near to being a Roman Catholic in his religious opinions, yet was for twenty years the darling leader of the English Protestant Nonconformists and the Scotch Presbyterians." Mr. Bryce might have stated here that one of Gladstone's last acts, if not the very last one of his public life, was his overture to the Pope for a reunion with the Church of England, for which act his Nonconformist friends instantly turned on him, and flatly denounced him, by pen and speech, as "a Jesuit in disguise."

Mr. Bryce pointedly corrects a loose but widespread impression that Gladstone's was a progressive intellect. He held to sacerdotalism, "could never quite reconcile himself either to the conclusions of geology and zoology regarding the history of the physical world, or to the modern methods of critical inquiry as applied to Scripture and ancient literature." In metaphysics "his reading did not go beyond those companions of his youth, Aristotle and Butler, and philosophical speculation interested him only so far as it bore on Christian doctrine." Nor did he show much taste for economic studies. He declined to accept "some of the most certain conclusions of modern geology," and was suspicious of science as hostile to revealed religion and therefore perilous to the moral welfare of mankind. His Homeric studies are mainly based on "reasonings fine-drawn and flimsy. Extraordinary ingenuity is shown in piling up a lofty fabric, but the foundation is of sand and the edifice has hardly a solid wall or beam in it." This is partly explained by the "element of fancifulness in Gladstone's intellect, and his tendency to mistake mere argumentation for verification."

As an orator Gladstone wielded a splendid power, his personal charm was so great, his enthusiasm so impressive, yet Mr. Bryce, who heard so many of Gladstone's finest speeches finds himself compelled to acknowledge that, "twenty years hence his will not be read, except, of course, by historians." Bright's were more finished, in point and diction, but he had to prepare, whereas Gladstone had a more varied knowledge, persuasive ingenuity, and was always ready with any sort of weapon. The specially conspicuous qualities which fascinated his hearers were inventiveness and elevation, force in delivery, expressive modulation of voice. "The vehemence of his feeling found expression in the fire of his eye and the resistless strength of his words." A well-known member of Parliament was speaking in censure of the ministry. "I had not gone on three minutes when Gladstone turned round and gazed at me so that I had to sit down in the middle of a sentence. I could not help it. There was no standing his eye." The finest of his speeches read flat next morning to those who had heard it spoken. Gladstone's statesmanship shows at its best in the fourteen budgets between 1853 and 1882, in which he followed Peel's lead in reducing and simplifying customs duties. His reform bills, the first of which was lost but came to fuller life in Disraeli's measure of 1867, mark the turning of Britain into a democracy. His disestablishment of the Irish Church and subsequent Irish legislation, also the Education and Local Government Acts, though not his personal work, were supported by him. His foreign policies, some good, some bad, are noticed fairly. Mr. Bryce holds that ten years hence it will be admitted that Gladstone was right in urging action to protect the Eastern Christians, against the Turk. His espousal of Irish Home Rule when seventy-seven years of age is instanced as remarkable courage. Though he never coined memorable sentences, nor wrote pages likely to live as literature, nor made many friends, nor showed personal interest in his younger political associates, Gladstone will be revered while this generation survives for the grandeur of his character as a whole. "Reviewing his career, and summing up the impressions and recollections of those who knew him best, this dignity is the feature which dwells most in the mind . . . Of how few who have lived for more than sixty years in the full sight of their countrymen, and have been as party leaders exposed to angry and sometimes dishonest criticisms can it be said

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that there stands on record against them no malignant word and no vindictive act! . . . As elevation was the note of his oratory, so was magnanimity the note of his character."

**Convention National Educational Association, Washington, D. C.—Reduced Rates via Pennsylvania Railroad.**

For the National Educational Association Convention to be held at Washington, D. C., July 7th to 12th, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company will sell excursion tickets from points on its line to Washington and return at rate of *single fare for the round trip plus \$2.00 membership fee*. These tickets will be sold on, and good going, July 4th to 7th, and good to return leaving Washington July 8th to 15th, when stamped by Joint Agent at Washington. By depositing ticket with Joint Agent on or before July 12th and on payment of 50 cents the return limit may be extended to August 31st. Tickets for side trips from Washington to Gettysburg, Richmond, Old Point Comfort, and Southern battlefields will be on sale at the ticket offices of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in Washington during the continuance of the Convention.—*Adv.*

**BRIEFER NOTICES.**

*The Crook of the Bough.* By MÈNIE MURIEL DOWIE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

Seven or eight years ago Miss Dowie, as she then was, made a remarkable hit by her book, "A Girl in the Karpathians." She explored that unfamiliar territory single-handed, in what we now know as bicycle costume, paddled her own canoe and puffed her cigarette, no man making her afraid. Soon after this success she was married to Henry Norman, the American Englishman, who has done his best to constitute himself Ambassador unattached, with the sentimental aim of marrying the two countries in the bonds of superficial gush, under the auspices and to the glory of the radical London newspaper whose travelling plenipotentiary he is. Mrs. Norman has been less fortunate with her other books, and now she returns to her maiden name in the hope of regaining old friends. But this is not the kind of book to win the old success. It is a close copy of the would-be smart novelette of the period, echoing the half-witty, half-slangy chatter of the Cockney five o'clock tea, easy to skim, without body and with too little spirit to animate it beyond the passing hour. A typical, bright English girl and a favorable specimen of a Turkish army officer are thrown together in Constantinople and London. Their contrasted temperaments and principles are exhibited skilfully enough. Whether it was worth writing a novel to impress it on English girls that the Turk is scarcely an ideal in either love or intellectual sympathy is a matter for the author and publisher. Eastern politics are interesting in their proper place, which, however, is not in this prettily printed volume.

\*\*\*

*The Essentials of Argumentation.* By ELIAS J. MACÉWAN. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$1.12.

At first look it might be supposed that the only essentials to a victorious bout in discussion are truth, command of facts, and a ready wit. The legal fraternity cannot afford to admit this, or half their occupation would be gone. And the grand army of social bores, orators of the day, partisan pleaders, and their camp followers are not likely to allow that plain facts have any value apart from their favorite way of dressing them up. Hence the author's bold avowal in the opening sentence that no apology needs to be offered for this book. As a teacher in an agricultural college he has found the time short for a full literary training. His pupils can only master the rudiments of composition, yet their work requires precision in scientific description and aptitude for sound reasoning and clear, convincing statement in support of their position. He therefore decided to try what results would come of giving the study of composition an argumentative turn. It proved so successful that Professor MacEwan has put his theories and practice into this well-conceived book, which is sure to make itself appreciated by students and those who appeal to the public by speech or pen. It would not be quite fair to describe it as a short cut to the end labored after in the usual works on rhetoric. While it is this, it sacrifices nothing of worth, but economizes mental effort as effectually as many of the stock works waste it. The author restates the old standard principles in his own way,

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giving many of the old examples from Burke to Webster, but with a purpose far better than that which has worn them threadbare as mere examples of elocution. They are here analyzed as types of argument, illustrating methods of reasoning and of presentation. While the adult reader may fancy he has all this at his finger ends we can promise him a few little surprises on being initiated into the secrets by which some of the greatest pleaders constructed their masterpieces, which have so long been regarded as mere beauties of rhetoric, to be recited as the most melancholy form of entertainment conceivable. By way of illustration the author has made an appendix containing Webster's speech in the White murder case, with analyses of speeches by Burke, Huxley and others. To these are added a number of subjects for debate, a glossary of technical terms and an index. It is an exceptionally good book for general reading as well as for study.

\*\*

*The King's Henchman.* By WILLIAM HENRY JOHNSON. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.50.

By its imposing look, with royal escutcheon, formal opening, and impressive enumeration of chapters we are prepared for a more than ordinary fiction tale. The title page has a realistic air, "A chronicle of the XVIIth century, brought to light and edited by"—the novelist. The Fourcades belonged to an old French family, one group coming to this country as Huguenot refugees. Around this and a long lost document are gathered a series of incidents which the lover of romance will enjoy. There is always a tough task before the inventor of a historical or any old time story. The language has to be given a rusty cast, the modes of thought and a hundred other bothersome things must be kept in mind if the illusion is to be sustained. While this is none too successfully managed here it would not be just to imply that the effort is an artistic failure.

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*The Trumpeters, and other Poems.* By ANDREW DOWNING, Washington, D. C. Hayworth Publishing House. \$1.

"The winds of March are trumpeters; They blow with might and main, And herald to the waiting earth The Spring, and all her train." Very pretty, smooth-sailing lines; but, though there are two-and-thirty of them, they do not deign to tell us what the trumpet is through which the trumpeted trumpetings blow themselves. There is "Plenty's horn," but as it is "full unto the brim" of solid "bounty," not even blustering Boreas could well tootle through it. All this only goes to show the wrongness of tormenting the poets with prosaic tests. Many of these are occasional pieces, and many seem like re-settings of familiar but always welcome tender sentiments. They show a gentle taste, and if not strikingly original in imagery or expression, they hold their own among a thousand more pretentious books of the sort.

\*\*

"A History of the Art of War," the second volume of which was recently announced by G. P. Putnam's Sons, will have its third volume devoted to the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the fourth volume will treat of the military history of the eighteenth century and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars down to Waterloo. Charles W. Oman, of All Souls', Oxford, is the author.

#### Summer Outings.—Personally-Conducted Tours via Pennsylvania Railroad.

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To Yellowstone Park and the Trans-Mississippi Exposition on a special train of Pullman sleeping, compartment, observation, and dining cars, allowing eight days in "Wonderland" and two days at Omaha, September 1. Rate, \$235 from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; \$230 from Pittsburgh.

To Niagara Falls, excursion tickets good to return within ten days will be sold on July 21, August 4 and 18, September 1, 15, and 29, at rate of \$10 from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. These tickets include transportation only, and will permit of stop over within limit at Buffalo, Rochester, and Watkins on the return trip.

Two ten-day tours to Gettysburg, Luray Caverns, Natural Bridge, Virginia Hot Springs, Richmond, and Washington, September 28 and October 19. Rate, \$65 from New York, \$63 from Philadelphia. Proportionate rates from other points.

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